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ABSTRACT

The language problem of emigrant children has two major aspects: (1) concern for mother tongue maintenance; and (2) concern that the children are not learning the second language, which is the official language of the host country. The first is primarily the concern of the family, whereas the second is the concern of the entire community. Massive school failure on the part of emigrant children has brought about federal legislation mandating bilingual education programs. Research done with Finnish students in Swedish schools and French-speaking students in English-language schools in Canada show that the students who do better in their mother tongue also do better in the second language and in other academic courses. The evidence for the importance of mother tongue development seems overwhelmingly clear, and in the United States, as in Europe, the educational consequence is, or should be, bilingual education. The goal of bilingual education programs, stable bilingualism, makes them vital parts of any educational program. The assessment of the efficacy of bilingual education, however, varies widely, and there is a widespread difference of opinions on its aims and objectives. One of the best indicators with which to evaluate these programs is the drop-out rate, not a psychometric assessment of the students' language skills. (CFM)

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Linguistic Aspects of Emigrant Children

by

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There is a commonly held belief that all normal children learn language with no problems and without any difficulties. On the whole, it is a belief which is supported by scientific facts in the rapidly growing discipline of psycholinguistics (Dato 1975). Many children learn not one but two languages simultaneously (see e.g. Workingpapers in Bilingualism) and some even more (Sorenson 1972). Why then need one be concerned about the linguistic aspects of emigrant children?

In fact, I know of no society which is concerned about the language of its minority children until those children come of school age. It is typically the massive school failure of children from ethnic minorities which cause government officials to take stock of the situation and to attempt subsequent measures to deal with the children's problems.

Actually, there are two sides to the problem of the language of emigrant children, but first we need to consider exactly what is meant by emigrant children. Emigrant is a label which masks many different kinds of experience, many different types of migration. First, at least in American English, the basic connotation of immigration refers to voluntary, inter-nations, permanent migration as exemplified by the vast number of individuals who came to the United States from all corners of the world but primarily from Europe during the last hundred years. But there is also voluntary, inter-nations, temporary migration such as the situation of the Gastarbeiters in Germany and other European countries. Much migration takes place within a nation; again voluntary, permanent migration as in many Chicanos' move from the United States' Southwest to the large northerly cities or in the Quechua Indians move to

Lima and other coastal cities of Peru (Myers 1973). There is also voluntary, intra-nation, temporary migration where the family will have every intention of returning after some time. Especially among the Puerto Ricans in the United States, there is considerable back-migration. The process of temporary intra-nation migration/back-migration may become repeated, and during a recent conference a Puerto Rican speaker commented that he and his family had settled permanently -- five times! Back-migration is a phenomenon which has received insufficient attention among linguists, but it is self-evident that moving back and forth from Spanish-medium Puerto Rican schools to English-medium mainland schools is bound to influence the children's schooling and language habits.

We also find involuntary, inter-nations, permanent migration as in the case of the slave trade from Black Africa to the Caribbean and the United States. We have involuntary, inter-nations, temporary migration as in the case of some Cuban emigrant refugees who remain hopeful that one day Castro will be overthrown and they can return to their homeland. Most Cubans I know have given up that hope and are now successfully integrating into American life. The Cuban situation highlights the real difficulty with temporary migration which is one of "Man proposes but God disposes." An individual's, a family's, or even a group's intention to return to his home country or his birthplace is frequently changed or thwarted. This is very much the situation in Europe, and Widgren discusses the falseness of the assumption held by "both groups of countries [which] took it for granted that foreign workers would 'automatically' return to their native countries after not more than a couple of years abroad" (1975:276). Instead Widgren estimates:

> one might say that it was only recently that the host countries discovered that over one third of immigrants intended to settle permanently, contrary to what was expected in the 1950's and despite the fact that immigration laws are still based on the assumption that the migrant worker will return to his native country

> after a couple of years' employment, i.e. a policy of permanent rotation of migrant workers. (1975:280)

Both voluntary and involuntary temporary migration alike frequently turn into permanent migration.

Finally, although less common, there is also involuntary, intra-nation permanent and temporary migration. The former is exemplified by the Inca practice of dividing a recalcitrant village in half and sending the population off to live in a linguistically and culturally different area as a measure of population control. The latter is exemplified by the temporary dislocation in the United States of American born Japanese into concentration camps during World War II.

This chart sums up the various alternative forms migration might take:

Alternative Forms of Migration

	Voluntary	Inter-nations	Permanent
U. S. European Immigrants	+	+	+
German Guest Workers	+	+	-
Chicanos to Northern Cities	+	-	+
Many Puerto Ricans	+	-	-
African Slave Trade	-	+	+
Some Cubans	-	+	-
Inca Practice	-	-	+
U. S. Japanese Dislocation	-	-	-

As one might expect, the language problems of migrant children also fall into various categories. Even so, the language problem tends to become expressed through two major concerns. One is a concern about mother tongue maintenance and a too rapid shift to the other language. Typically, this is a concern held by the migrating group members rather than by government officials. Fishman documents in his Language Loyalties in the United States the attempts by various ethnic groups to maintain the traditional mother tongue in addition to English:

> Now the question no longer is: how shall we learn English so that we may take part in the social life of America and

> partake of her benefits; the big question is: how can we preserve the language of our ancestors here, in a strange environment, and pass on to our descendants the treasures which it contains? (Bothne in Fishman 1966:7)

On the whole, these attempts of mother tongue maintenance among the European emigrant groups have not been successful, at least not when the attempts were motivated by language loyalty per se. Rather, the bilingualism of these ethnic groups became the mechanism for massive and very rapid (Lieberson et al. 1975) language shift:

> Immigrant languages disappear because they do not transfer from one generation to the next. Typically in the United States the first generation prefers to speak the non-English tongue, the second generation is bilingual, and the third claims English as its mother tongue, learning the immigrant language mainly through contact with the grandparents. The Spanish language seems to be an exception. (Thompson 1974:7)

Another exception can be found among religious groups like the Hutterites and the Amish who originally emigrated to the United States for purposes of religious freedom. The trilingual Pennsylvania Old Order Amish is a Protestant group characterized by

> horse and buggies for transportation, no electricity in their homes, farm animals for farming; the occupation most engaged in, education only to the eigth grade; plain dress; refusal to accept government benefits such as social security; and the use of Pennsylvania Dutch, a German dialect from the speech of German Rhenish Palatinate; German; and English. (Yoder 1976:2-3)

German is used for sermons, prayers, and bible reading from the Luther Bible, the 1534 translation from the Latin. Since Pennsylvania law requires school attendance until 15, many Old Order Amish spend an additional year after eigth grade in a special intensive program learning German, thus fulfilling the legal requirement while serving their own purpose. English is learnt in school and is used in any exchange with "English" or "gay" persons, as non-members are referred to. English is also used for non-religious reading.

Pennsylvania Dutch is the mother tongue and is spoken in the home, always at church related social activities, and often to other church members even in the "English" world, such as in the grocery store (Yoder 1976). Members have a strong feeling that

> German is the better form of the language, richer, deeper, more capable of expressing deep thoughts than either Pennsylvania Dutch or English. The deep thoughts in one's life are those relating to God. So take away German, and one has taken away that aspect of his life. (Yoder 1976:10)

For the deeply religious Amish, it is clear that the functional distribution of language use contributes to the motivation for staying within the church and for resisting the obvious temptations to join one of the less conservative churches, like that of the Mennonites, who do not have the same extreme restrictions on daily life. Nor do the Mennonites make similar use of language and indeed their present day high school generation is monolingual in English. It is also clear that the continued maintenance of both Pennsylvania Dutch and German is not due to language loyalty but to religious loyalty which utilizes language for the maintenance of group boundaries.

The most extreme example we have of religious loyalty expressed through language is of course the case of Hebrew in which a dead language became revitalized, acquired native speakers and is now the national language of Israel. In the case of Hebrew, language maintenance and cultivation did become a concern of government officials, and it was through the support of national policy that the revitalization process was successful.

National policy has also been involved in the language question of migrant children in Europe. Willke estimates that "the number of children directly affected by migration movements within Europe is about 6 million" (1975:359). In the case of temporary migrants, mother tongue maintenance of the children takes on extreme importance as the basis for successful reintegration into their country of origin, and national educational policy reflects this fact. In Sweden, where the policy is permanent immigration,

the school curriculum guide piously states:

> Thus the goals of bilingual teaching in comprehensive school should be for the pupils to gain a parallel command of both languages. (National Swedish Board of Education 1975:97)

But the number of hours allotted on the schedule for mother tongue instruction is so few (usually 2 per week) that it is totally unlikely that a goal of full bilingualism can be achieved.

In the Federal Republic of Germany the policy of temporary or permanent immigration varies, and as Abadan-Unat illustrates in his discussion of the schooling problem of Turkish migrant children, this policy becomes reflected in the educational policy:

> The "Bavarian" model is based on the principle that parents are given a free choice; they may decide to educate their children either predominantly in Turkish or in German. In schools with a minimum of 25 foreign children, instruction is given upon request up to two thirds in the respective mother tongue. The second alternative, called the "social integration" model, does not accept the principle of free choice for parents, but attempts to integrate foreign children fully in German society. Under this model Turkish children are either first instructed in transitional classes with the purpose of teaching them basic German, or if their command of German is sufficient, they may join regular classes in German schools.
>
> It should be noted that while Bavaria from the beginning stood firm on the provisional nature of foreign labour employment and insisted on keeping the rotation principle, the Länder with larger industrial concentration fought for complete integration and recruitment without restrictions. Thus it becomes clear that the shaping of educational policies was determined, until the out-break of the energy crisis, by the degree of industrial absorption of foreign labour rather than pedagogical or humanistic considerations. (1975:316)

In Europe, in other words, the economic situation tends to dictate actual educational policies as regards mother tongue maintenance of the migrant children. Actual classroom practices are very likely not to be in harmony with the "official" partyline policy which follows the noble recommendations

of the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education in November of 1974:

> Migrants' children should be assured of a good knowledge of their mother tongue and indigenous culture, for the mother tongue is one of the foundations of their development and is likely to facilitate the learning of other languages. (Council of Europe 1974, cited in Willke 1975:364)

The last point is indicative of the major concern of educational officials in regard to migrant and ethnic minority children alike throughout the world. One concern is mother tongue maintenance; the other, and usually considered by far the graver, is the concern that the children are not properly learning the second language (L_2), the official language of the nation. In contradistinction to language maintenance, the learning of the L_2 is a concern which is shared by everyone, educational officials, community leaders, parents and the children themselves. It becomes a shared concern because the inevitable result of an inadequate knowledge of the L_2 is massive school failure and the denied possibility of social mobility. And that becomes a political question. Increasingly, the scholarly literature on the linguistic aspects of migrant children both in the United States and in Europe (see e.g. Spolsky 1972; Invandrare och Minoriteter) utilize a conceptual framework of group conflict theory, i.e. a neo-marxist perspective (R. G. Paulston 1967). Skutnabb-Kangas in her discussion of Finnish migrant children in Sweden discusses the social function of their semilingualism:

> In this way the educational system contributes to ensure the perpetuation of a class society. Educational systems in Western industrial countries function as factors which preserve the social structure of society. As the educational system functions in the interests of the majority, and as the majority even in the future will need workers at the conveyor belts, the educational system reproduces the immigrants' work and social structure, even when the system's official objective is to give the migrant children the same possibilities which the children in the receiver (host) country has. From this point of view

> one can understand the function of the migrant children's semilingualism as a factor which transfers and increases social inegality. (1976:35, my translation)

There is an increasing scholarly concern in Europe that the present educational policies may well contribute to the bringing up of a "lost generation" (Widgren 1975:282), a generation of "marginal men and women" (Abadan-Unat 1975:320), and increasingly bilingual education (mother tongue and L_2) in transitional programs is seen by the officials as a pragmatic solution to the linguistic problems of migrant children: by initial schooling in the mother tongue, the L_2 can be learned/taught more effectively.

In the United States, the situation of the Chicano and Puerto Rican children is not unlike that of the Finnish children in Sweden, and in both countries it was their massive school failure which finally forced the authorities to acknowledge the existence of bi/multilingualism, and eventually to legislate into effect bilingual education programs. Unlike the early bilingual education programs for mother tongue maintenance, the present programs in the United States are seen by the government officials as a more efficient way of teaching the national language.

The Bilingual Education Act was passed in 1968:

> the principal piece of legislation, the Title VII amendment to the 1965 ESE (Elementary and Secondary Education) Act, is designed to meet the needs of children of limited English-speaking ability from low income families, so that these children will gain sufficient proficiency in English to keep up with their mono-lingual English-speaking peers in the educational system. Although the Title VII amendment is often referred to as "The Bilingual Education Act," this is rather misleading, since the long range goal is not bilingualism but proficiency in English. (National Institute of Education 1975:6)

From the legislators' viewpoint, the programs are compensatory in nature, and their objective is a more rapid and efficient acquisition of English; such programs have become known as the transitional model. The Swedish programs are similarly transitional in nature (Johannesson 1975). Never-

theless, the actual situation in the United States differs profoundly from the Swedish. When Skolöverstyrelsen (Ministry of Education) makes a decision, that decision is handed down and implemented all around Sweden. In the United States, the states have autonomy over their educational system, and it necessitated a Supreme Court decision to uphold the Bilingual Education Act in the famous Lau vs. Nichols case in which a Chinese parent sued the school board of San Francisco. In 1974 the Court ruled in favor of Lau:

> for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.

Subsequently, the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) appointed a task force which worked out a set of guidelines for implementing the Lau decision, the so-called Lau "remedies," which have caused considerable furor. The constant excuse given by school administrators who don't want to implement bilingual education programs in their schools is that the children don't need it as they have an ESL (English as a Second Language) program. So, the Lau "remedies" state again and again that an ESL program is not acceptable in a bilingual education program. People involved in ESL have taken this to mean that the children are not to be taught English. The "remedies" do end with a footnote which states that an ESL component is an integral part of a bilingual education program, and most certainly the task force never meant that the children were not to learn and be taught English. The Lau "remedies" can only be understood as a political document, and is the perfectly understandable reaction of minority group members who have seen the only real advances to their people come through political action.

The Lau "remedies" are implemented by the Lau Centers which serve under HEW. The federal government does have indirect control over the states through the allocation of federal funding (total HEW expenditures on Bilingual

Education and/or ESL projects for fiscal year 1977 amounted to $118 million), and school districts which are judged out of compliance with the Lau decision stand the risk of losing all their federal funding, a most powerful argument for the implementation of bilingual education and one not even the most conservative school board is willing to fight. And so, little by little, the programs are being implemented across the U. S., but in many cases it is clearly a legal-political process rather than just pragmatic-educational as in Sweden.

The U. S. programs, like the Swedish, may legally be transitional in nature, but the major proponents for them, especially those members of the ethnic groups involved in implementing the new directives, invariably refer to the programs as bilingual/bicultural and see the objectives as stable bilingualism with maintenance of the home culture as well as the home language. So far, as the NIE report points out "the Guidelines for the Title VII programs have been interpreted loosely enough" (National Institute of Education 1975:6) to allow for maintenance programs, as they are known, as well as for transitional programs. In general, it is considered a crucial point in maintenance programs to have teachers who are members of the same ethnic group as the children, an ideological-political rather than a pedagogical consideration.

The whole development of bilingual education in the United States illustrates a crucial issue in the understanding of the linguistic aspects of migrant children. Language, language-use, language acquisition is not the independent variable, is not the causal factor which accounts for certain behavior in children. Rather, linguistic aspects of migrant children must be seen as dependent or intervening variables, as the result or slightly altered result of ethnic groups in contact.

Frequently reason has very little to do with attempts at solutions. It is not reasonable for students to riot and get killed over which language is

to be taught in the schools, yet the Black reaction to the introduction of Africaans instead of English in South Africa is perfectly comprehensible. Africaans is a very powerful symbol of the hated oppression. Clearly Africaans in and by itself was not the real reason behind the revolt, but rather the reason lay in the nature of the relationship between the subordinate Blacks and the dominant whites. In our discussions of bilingualism and the linguistic aspects of migrant children, we need to recognize that often the problem has nothing or little to do with language per se.

R. A. Schermerhorn in his "Inductive typology" of Comparative Ethnic Relations points out that "the probability is overwhelming that when two groups with different cultural histories establish contacts that are regular rather than occasional or intermittent, one of the two groups will typically assume dominance over the other," (1970:68) and he says elsewhere it is the nature of this dominance which is the major factor in ethnic relations (1972:379ff). The central question then in comparative research in ethnic relations (immediate causal factor of migrant childrens' bilingual status) is "what are the conditions that foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups into their environing societies" (1970:14)? The percentage of members of a group who become bilingual can be seen as a concomitant condition of the degree of integration. Schermerhorn sees three major causal factors as determining the nature of the relationship between ethnic groups and the process of integration into the environing society. The first refers to the origin of the contact situation between "the subordinate ethnic and dominant groups, such as annexation, migration, and colonization," the second to "the degree of enclosure (institutional separation or segmentation) of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and associations," and the third to "the degree of control exercised by dominant groups over access to scarce resources by subordinate groups in a

given society" (1970:15).

Nationalism in Europe has frequently been characterized (correctly or incorrectly) by the concept "One nation, one language." With the recent multilingualism due to the presence of migrant workers, the American experience of the course of mother tongue diversity should be illustrative of the factors which are likely to influence the linguistic aspects of migrant children in Europe.

Subordinate groups who are indigenous at the time of contact, either through colonization as in the case of the American Indians or through annexation as in the case of the Chicanos in the U. S. Southwest, are unlikely to change mother tongue rapidly. Migrant subordinate groups are the only groups likely to show rapid rates of mother tongue shift, as the recent migrant Finnish working-class population in Sweden illustrates in so rapid a shift that there is anecdotal evidence of difficulties of communication between parents and children. In the United States, as Lieberson et al. show, the immigrant experience was one of extra-ordinarily rapid shift. In contrast, within the same nation and with access to the same educational institution of public schooling, the indigenous subordinate groups have changed at a much slower rate.

Language shift can be seen as an indicator of integration into the environing society. Rather than to inquire into the linguistic aspects of the various ethnic groups, one might consider the reason the immigrants to the United States integrated into the larger society so much more rapidly and completely than the indigenous groups. As Lieberson et al. point out, one reason was that the indigenous groups already had a set of social and cultural institutions in situ through which they attempted to pursue their preconquest activities. Another reason was that they tended to be spatially isolated.

These two reasons are both subsumed under Schermerhorn's variable of degree of enclosure. The less the two groups share socio-cultural institutions like the same churches, the same schools, the same jobs, the higher the degree of enclosure within that society. Schermerhorn points out that we do not have a very clear idea of the degree of enclosure of plural societies. In plural societies, "institutions of kinship, religion, the economy, education, recreation and the like are parallel but different in structure and norms. Ordinarily this is compounded by differences in language and sometimes by race as well" (1970:124). The difficulties faced by the Turkish migrants in Europe (Abadan-Unat 1975; Kulbay 1976) is illustrative of this point as these difficulties are partially the result of different social institutions. Abadan-Unat discusses the role of women in Turkish culture, very different from that in German culture; one result for the children is that a large number of Turkish girls in Germany don't attend any school at all and consequently learn neither Turkish nor German well. So is their institution of religion different, and Kulbay complains that in Sweden the Moslim Turks have to be buried in a Christian churchyard: even in death the different social institutions are insisted on. In this case, it makes no difference that these separate institutions are self-imposed by the ethnic minority group; the result throughout Europe seems equally dismal:

> Their [the Turkish children] situation looks very dark as they are becoming increasingly ignorant of their own culture and at the same time have a bad knowledge of Swedish and it will be very difficult for them to compete in the job market once they finish school. (Kulbay 1976:10; my translation)

The degree of control by the Anglo dominant group over access to goods and services also influenced the situations in the United States.

The contact situations within the same nation between the Anglo Americans and the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans, the Amerindians, were all the result of military conquest. The Chicanos were segregated to one part of town and only given access to menial type jobs. The Indians were isolated on reservations where no opportunity for jobs existed. The immigrants, on the other hand, were given access to jobs. Bruckner's thesis (1972) that jobs select language learning strategies is one that I have never found an exception to. When jobs were available which required a knowledge of English, the ethnic minority members became bilingual. Without access to rewards, English was and is not salient.

Schermerhorn also posits three intervening or contextural variables which modify the effect of the independent variables. The most important is the agreement or disagreement between dominant and subordinate groups on collective goals for the latter, such as assimilation or pluralism. Schermerhorn sets up a paradigm of which one purpose is to "specify the social contexts that can serve as intervening variables in answer to the scientific query, 'under what conditions?'" (1970:85). He bases his discussion on Wirth's typology of the different policies adopted by minority groups in response to their unprivileged position.

> These policies he called assimilationist, pluralist, secessionist, and militant. Briefly, assimilationist policy seeks to merge the minority members into the wider society by abandoning their own cultural distinctiveness and adopting their superordinates' values and style of life. The pluralist strategy solicits tolerance from the dominant group that will allow the subordinates to retain much of their cultural distinctiveness. The secessionist minority aims to separate or detach itself from the superordinates so as to pursue an independent existence. Finally, the militants . . . intend to gain control over the dominants who currently have the ascendency (1970:78).

Schermerhorn points out that assimilation and pluralism really refer to

cultural aspects while secession and militancy refer to structural.

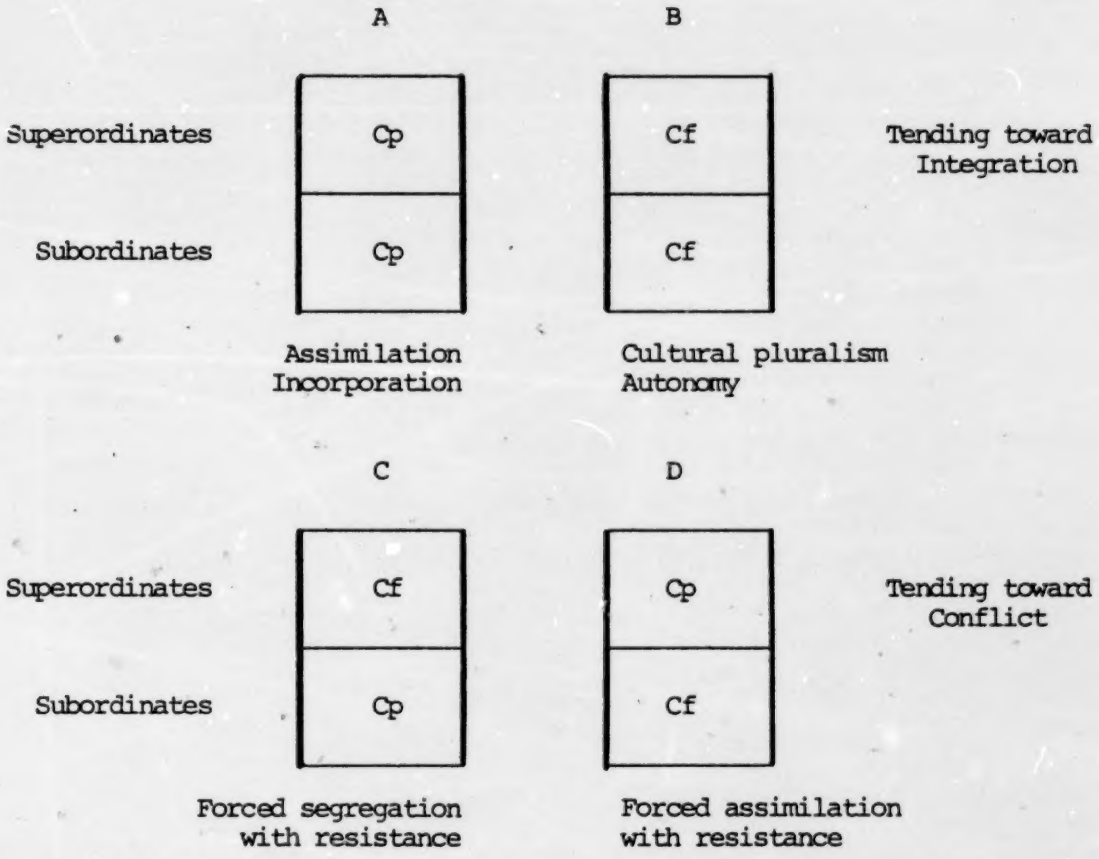
> To clarify this problem it is well to insist on the analytic distinction between culture and social structure. Culture signifies the ways of action learned through socialization, based on norms and values that serve as guides or standards for that behavior. Social structure, on the other hand, refers to "the set of crystallized social relationships which its (the society's) members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society, such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education, government, and recreation" (Gordon 1964:30-31) (1970:80).

In order to deal with the difficulty of applying cultural features to conditions which involve social features, he suggests the paired concepts of centripetal and centrifugal trends in social life. "Centripetal tendencies refer both to cultural trends such as acceptance of common values, styles of life, etc., as well as structural features like increased participation in a common set of groups, associations, and institutions" (1970:81). To keep the two aspects distinct, he calls the first assimilation, the latter incorporation.

> Centrifugal tendencies among subordinate groups are those that foster separation from the dominant group or from societal bonds in one respect or another. Culturally this most frequently means retention and preservation of the group's distinctive traditions in spheres like language, religion, recreation, etc., together with the particularistic values associated with them: Wirth's cultural pluralism. But in order to protect these values, structural requirements are needed, so there are demands for endogamy, separate associations, and even at times a restricted range of occupations (1970:81-2).

Schermerhorn's major point is that integration, which involves the satisfaction of the ethnic group's modal tendency, whether it be centripetal or centrifugal, depends on the agreement or congruence of views by the dominant and subordinate groups on the goals of the latter:

Congruent and Incongruent Orientations Toward Centripetal and Centrifugal Trends of Subordinates as Viewed by Themselves and Superordinates



Cp = Centripetal trends
Cf = Centrifugal trends (1970:83)

The goals for all non-English speaking groups as seen by the dominant groups have always been assimilation, the acceptance of "the American creed," the socialization into American ways and values. Since this was also the goal of the immigrants, they willingly acquiesced to the assimilation process, and the relationship between the dominant group and the immigrants is best characterized by Cell A, a situation tending toward integration.

The indigenous groups, on the other hand, tended to resist assimilation, and their situation is symbolized by Cell D. It is slight wonder that, in a situation characterized by conflict, in which they resisted assimilation at

the same time as they were denied access to goods and services and were separated institutionally from the English-speaking group, members of indigenous groups did not shift to English to the same degree and at the same rate as the immigrant group. The degree to which the indigenous groups became bilingual probably depended mostly on access to jobs which required a knowledge of English; the degree to which they maintained the mother tongue probably depended most on the resistance against assimilation. The affluent Amish, who are an exception to the immigrant experience of rapid language shift, exemplify both these points. They are perfectly bilingual as their business dealings with the "gay" world necessitates a knowledge of English, which they learn primarily in the public schools. They have stubbornly resisted assimilation into American mainstream culture for religious reasons and not only have they maintained the mother tongue but also add standard German as an additional language, crucial to the transmittance of the group's basic values.

There is no reason not to expect that the same factors Schermerhorn discusses will also hold for the emigrant children in Europe. Indeed, if the most important aspects of the language of migrant children are best seen from a perspective of comparative ethnic relations, Europe offers a veritable laboratory for research as it is possible to investigate both what happens to migrant groups from different cultures within one host country (Petersen 1974) and what happens to migrant groups from the same culture in a number of host countries (Willke 1975). More difficult to understand and much less dealt with is the difference in language acquisition between groups within the same host country which is due, not to societal ethnic relations but to cultural and ethical characteristics of the ethnic group. Such research urgently need to be carried out in Europe.

Albeit the language of the migrant child is best understood as a function of the social situation and the ethnic relationship, the initial question "Why need one be concerned about the linguistic aspects of emigrant children?" remains unanswered. Why do some emigrant children seemingly fail at normal language acquisition? A careful analysis of the data on Finnish emigrant children in Sweden will both document the failure of language acquisition on the part of some children as well as suggest a mechanism for how this situation is possible. In the excellent Finnish National Commission Report to UNESCO, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) review the literature and discuss the available research data.

Sweden has a large Finnish working class migrant population with an estimated 30,000 children in the public schools (Johannesson 1975). They are subject to stereotyping and prejudice by the Swedes: "The Finns seem to be the object of more groundless prejudices on the part of the Swedes than any other nationality" (Trankell 1975). Fewer Finns learn Swedish than any of the other immigrant nationality groups. They are characterized by identity conflicts and lack of self-esteem, shame about their own language and nationality(Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976:82), characteristics which are frequently mentioned in the literature on minorities in the United States. The data on the Finnish children in Sweden is particularly significant because both the receiver country and the sender country are highly developed industrialized modern societies with school achievement norms both for children in Sweden and Finland. In addition, Sweden is a quasi-socialist society where problems of health-care, diet and unemployment are not intervening variables. Such conditions are often cited as contributory factors in the lack of school achievement by minority group children.

In the UNESCO report, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa report on a study in which 687 Finnish students in Swedish schools, divided among 171 classes, were tested (1976:48).

> The purpose of the study was to determine the linguistic level and development in both their mother tongue and Swedish of Finnish migrant children attending Swedish comprehensive school. Above all, attention was paid to the interdependence between skills in the mother tongue and Swedish, i.e. the hypothesis was tested that those who have best preserved their mother tongue are also best in Swedish. Partly related to this question the significance of the age of which the child moved to Sweden was also determined. Do those who received a firm grounding in their mother tongue by attending school in Finland have a better chance of learning Swedish than those who moved to Sweden as pre-schoolers?
>
> A second important problem is the achievement of Finnish pupils in Swedish language schools. How do Finnish migrant pupils do in theoretical and what might be called practical subjects? Does one's skill in the mother tongue have any effect on the grade given in a Swedish-language school or on other school achievement?

In their discussion of results, the authors also report on several other studies which support their findings. The results were compared to Swedish and Finnish control groups or standardized tests were used. Social class seems not to have been controlled for, and this should be taken into account in interpreting the finings; in 1970 the demographic figures of the social stratification in Sweden were: the upper class counted 7.8% of the population, the middle class 34.7% and the working class 57.5% (Svenska Dagbladet 1970:1).

On all non-verbal ability factors the migrant children tested out at normal or slightly above normal level, i.e. they consistently test out at a normal level of intelligence; between verbal and non-verbal factors, however, there is an "enormous gap". During the first 4-5 years of school the Finnish migrant pupils . . . remained at a level which in Finland had fewer than 10% of the poorest pupils judged in verbal tests." In other words,

their Finnish is poor (p. 53) and so is their Swedish where "the average level Finnish pupil had a test point score in Swedish on a level at which about 10% of the poorest Swedish pupils were placed" (p. 54).

At first hand, it doesn't make sense that the Finnish students' Swedish would be good enough to compare with the Swedish of 10% of native speakers. However, the tests used to assess Swedish skills were synonym tests, word group tests, and vocabulary tests - tests which we know correlate highly with I. Q. scores. Since the non-verbal ability factors established the Finnish students to be at normal level, the verbal tests would have tested the Finnish students knowledge of Swedish while the same tests in all probability tapped the Swedish students' intelligence. Whatever methodological objections one might make, it is still clear that 687 Finnish students of normal intelligence were only able to function through Swedish as the least intelligent 10% of Swedish students -- with perfectly predictable results in their schooling.

The language development data are supported by findings from a study by Särkelä and Kuusinen (1976) who tested 182 subjects in Sweden with a rural control group in Finland. The migrant children were slightly more above average as measured by the non-verbal Raven intelligence test.

> On the other hand, the psycholinguistic ages determined by the ITPA (Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities) show that in their command of the Finnish language the pupils in Finnish-language classes in Sweden were on average 2.5-3 years behind the normal Finnish level and the Finnish pupils in Swedish-language classes were 3-4 years behind the normal Finnish level (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976:55).

In general Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa found that the children's rate of improvement in Swedish was not as fast as the regression in the mother tongue. Although ability factors influenced the learning of Swedish, it is very clear "that the better a pupil has preserved his mother tongue, the better are his prerequisites for learning the second language"

(p. 78). Overwhelmingly, the better a student knew Finnish (as a function of having attended school for several years in Finland), the better he learned Swedish. An examination of language skills of siblings found that those who moved from Finland at an average age of 10 have preserved an almost normal Finnish language level and they also approach the normal level in Swedish of Swedish pupils. Those who moved at the age of twelve also achieve language skills comparable to those of the Swedes although learning the language takes place more slowly. The children who moved under the age of six or who were born in Sweden do not do as well. Their Swedish language development "often stops at the age of about twelve, evidently because of their poor grounding in the mother tongue" (p. 75). Worst off are the pupils who were 7-8 when they moved to Sweden. "The verbal development of these children, who moved just after school was beginning, (children begin school at seven in Sweden) underwent serious disturbance after the move. This also has a detrimental effect on learning Swedish" (p. 75). The evidence is perfectly clear that mother tongue development facilitates the learning of the second language, and there are serious implications that without such development neither language may be learned well, resulting in semilingualism.

Bloomfield cites such a condition as common among the Menomini (1927), and Hymes in a discussion of Bloomfield's White-Thunder cites John Murra as commenting on a similar situation among Quechua Indians who "so to speak, give up Quechua before they learn Spanish" (Hymes 1974:72), an accurate enough description of semilingualism. Gonzales-Moreyra and Aliaga's (1972) study in which bilingual Quechua children achieved lower test scores on concept formation tasks than did two control groups of children monolingual in Spanish and Quechua respectively supports the Finnish findings. On the other hand, Collison's (1974) study on the concept formation of Ghanaian children, which is

frequently cited as evidence for weaker concept formation in the L_2, I think only reflects language proficiency and gives no evidence of concept formation. But his subjects obviouslyare fluent in their mother tongue, and the study neither supports nor refutes the evidence on semilingualism.

Cummins, in an important article on "The Influence on Bilingualism on Cognitive Growth: A Synthesis of Research Findings and Explanatory Hypothesis" speculates that the lower level of verbal intelligence by the bilingual subjects inthe earlier studies (Darcy 1953) "may be a reflection of the fact that they are likely to have had less than native-like competence in both their languages(1976:36). Cummins hypothesizes that "the level of linguistic competence may mediate the effects of his bilingual learning experience on cognitive growth" (p. 37).

In other words, the bilingual's level of competence in L_1 and L_2 is posited

> as an intervening variable in the causal chain between cognitive development and more fundamental social, attitudinal, educational and cognitive factors. Specifically, there may be a threshold level of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive deficits and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to affect his cognitive functioning. Bilingualism and unilingualism can both be thought of as instruments which individuals use to operate upon their environments. Because of its greater complexity, the bilingual instrument is more difficult to master, but once mastered has greater potential than the unilingual instrument for promoting cognitive growth (p. 37).

A last look at the Finnish data supports Cummins' conclusions. In an examination of the school achievement of the Finnish students, it was found that they did relatively well in mathematics, in the upper level almost as well as their Swedish classmates. But more interestingly,

> The Finnish-language skills shown by the test results are fairly closely connected with the grade in mathematics. In the upper level, Finnish seems to be even more important for achievement in mathematics than

> Swedish -- in spite of the fact that mathematics, too, is taught in Swedish. This result supports the concept that the abstraction level of the mother tongue is important for mastering the conceptual operations connected with mathematics . . . Subjects such as biology, chemistry and physics also require conceptual thinking, and inthese subjects migrant children with a good mastery of their mother tongue succeeded significantly better than those who knew their mother tongue poorly. (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa 1976:69)

The Canadian data from Manitoba on French speaking children clearly support the Finnish data. In a report entitled "Academic Achievement and Language of Instruction among Franco-Manitobans pupils," Hebert et al. (1976) also found that the pupils who did better in French, their mother tongue, also did better in English and in other academic courses. Intelligence, socio-economic level and motivation were controlled for in this study, so they could not be factors which influenced the findings.

The evidence for the importance of mother tongue development seems overwhelmingly clear, and in the United States as in Europe the educational consequence is or should be bilingual education. The assessment of the efficacy of bilingual education varies widely, and there is widespread differences of opinions on its aims and objectives. The following discussion of the assessment of bilingual education in the United States should both be illustrative of what Europe of tomorrow may have to face and should also serve to place in focus the view that the major objective of bilingual education is not so much language proficiency as it is social justice.

Spolsky's American Indian Bilingual Education surveys the wide variety of bilingual programs and points out that "the attitudes of Indian parents and community leaders to bilingual education make up a complex patchwork of varying influences and beliefs" (1974:50). Fuchs and Havighurst (1972:172) cite Indian responses to a questionnaire:

> She already knows her own language so I don't think she should be taught it in school.
>
> I think it would be worthwhile to have some subjects taught in Apache.

Individual parents will differ, just as do Anglo parents, in their interpretation of the best means to achieve a useful life, and nothing else can be expected. The schools, however, attempt to spell out goals and objectives of bilingual education, both in the form of policy papers, like the Department of Education, State of New Mexico: Statement of Policy -- Bilingual Education and in the proposals for funding. Cornejo's survey of "Exemplary Programs in the Southwest" demonstrates how explicit the programs are in stating their goals and objectives, and the following from the Valley International Project (Cornejo 1974:56) is typical:

> Goals and Objectives
>
> The long range goals of the Valley Intercultural Project are as follows:
>
> 1. Students from both the Spanish speaking and English speaking environments will have achieved parallel proficiencies in the use of two languages.
> 2. Students from both environments will willingly and capably shift languages as appropriate to the situation in which they find themselves.
> 3. Students from the non-English speaking environment will achieve an equal rating, on the average, to that achieved by their English speaking counterparts on scales of self-image and vocational/educational aspiration.
> 4. Students from the non-English speaking environment who are adapting to a new environment will do so without falling into a state of anomie and without the alienation from the family or community often associated with "rejection of the mother tongue."
> 5. Students from both environments will be able to function in social and vocational settings equally well in two languages.
> 6. The bilingual program, articulated over five years and continued further by local districts and countries, will offer students from both environments equal opportunity to achieve academic progress throughout the school system.

7. Students from both environments will have appreciation for others' ethnic backgrounds, as well as pride in their own cultural heritage.
8. Long range participation on the part of the community will result in a composition of school-related committees more representative of the ethnic composition of the community.
9. Equal opportunity practices will be evident in the balanced number of qualified students from both backgrounds being given vocational employment.
10. Over a number of years, it is hoped that teacher stability in job careers and "career ladders" for aides will result in a highly trained cadre of professional personnel necessary for program maintenance.
11. The school system community will mirror its multicultural makeup in the services and produces it provides, in the recognition of appropriate holidays, and in festivals and employment practices.

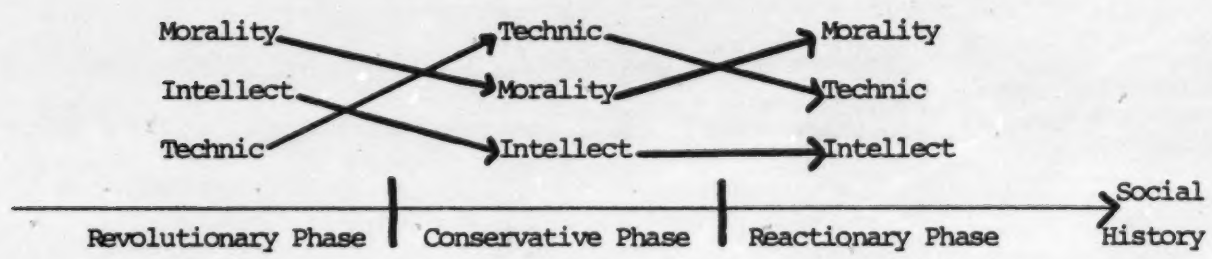
Clearly English is only the means to a fair share.

Anthony Wallace has suggested the term revitalization movement for "deliberate, organized efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1966:264). Many of the statements about the goals of bilingual education by organized members of minority groups can best be understood from that perspective. Says Wallace (1961:38-39):

> But for our purposes three contrasting value orientations (for determining what is to be learnt) are most significant: the revolutionary, or utopian, orientation; the conservative . . . orientation; and the reactionary orientation. What a man is expected to do in his life will, in part, depend on whether he lives in a revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary society.

He outlines the priorities of learning in the following model (1961:49):

Learning Priorities in Revolutionary, Conservative, and Reactionary Societies.



Groups undergoing a revolutionary phase will always stress moral learning, and thus conflicts are certain to arise when a revitalization movement takes place within a conservative society where technique has the highest learning priority. The following citation from a document directed in part to Mayor Daley and the Chicago City Council illustrates that sense of conflict (Sevilla-Casas et al. 1973):

> Our conference brought together Latinos in Chicago who have fought to establish bilingual-bicultural human service programs that are responsive to and controlled by the Latino community.
>
> These programs were established both through battles with established institutions and by setting up alternative facilities that bypassed irrelevant institutional services. Each of these programs is staffed and controlled by Latino community residents.
>
> These bilingual-bicultural programs are desparately fighting to stem the tide of oppression by Anglo society and institutions as seen in an 80% drop-out rate, poverty and urban renewal.
>
> However, these programs are not enough. We call upon city, state, and Federal institutions:
>
> 1. To allocate a fair share of its resources to bilingual-bicultural Latino programs.
> 2. To insure that these programs are controlled by and responsive to the needs of Latino residents.
> 3. To see to it that Anglo institutions stop pressuring Latinos to become "Americanized" but recognize that our country can be strengthened by many different languages and cultures.
> 4. To insure that institutions serving Latinos make significant changes in their programs, resources and staff so that they can more effectively serve our people.

Language skills in the official language can be seen as an aspect of technique, while the mother tongue is an aspect of moral learning, reaffirming the solidarity and cultural uniqueness of the ethnic group, underscoring the need to teach the moral values of good and evil, right and

wrong - the values of the old gods, in the language in which these values were originally transmitted. Reaffirmation of cultural values are frequently a part of the moral teaching, especially among ethnic groups who prior to the revitalization movement have been taught by the dominant group to have nothing but contempt for their own culture. The Canadian Indians in the following excerpts from the National Indian Brotherhood policy paper (National Indian Brotherhood 1972:14-17) sound reminiscent of the Latinos:

> Language is the outward expression of an accumulation of learning and experience shared by a group of people over centuries of development. It is not simply a vocal symbol; it is a dynamic force which shapes the way a man looks at the world, his thinking about the world and his philosophy of life. Knowing his maternal language helps a man to know himself; being proud of his language helps a man to be proud of himself.
>
> The Indian people are expressing concern that the native languages are being lost; that the younger generations can no longer speak or understand their mother tongue. If the Indian identity is to be preserved, steps must be taken to reverse this trend.
>
> The need for teachers who are fluent in the local language is dramatically underlined by this concern for the preservation of Indian identity through language instruction.
>
> By learning ways to apply traditional beliefs, values and skills to survival in modern society, and by learning modern skills and behaviors needed to participate in the benefits of economic and social development, the Indian will gain self-confidence and independence.
>
> These (Cultural Education) Centres must be Indian controlled and operated, in view of the fact that they are established for Indian purposes and use.

The United States National Indian Education Association echoes their Canadian neighbors: "If Indians (are) to retain their culture, we must set our own policies" (New York Times 1974:33). The conflict over learning priorities explains the extreme importance of local control over local educational institutions, which otherwise will not be in a position to implement their objectives. Those objectives are perfectly clear: maintenance

of cultural identity and economic incorporation (Schermerhorn 1970) into the mainstream society. We show a typical tendency to assess and evaluate the schooling of groups undergoing a revitalization movement where moral learning is the priority in terms of the standards of the conservative society — the standards of technique.

It makes a lot more sense to assess the bilingual education programs in the United States in terms of employment figures upon leaving school, statistics on drug addiction and alcoholism, suicide rates and personality disorders, i.e. indicators which measure the social pathology which accompanies social injustice rather than in terms of language skills. Many of us see the bilingual education programs as an attempt to cope with such social injustice rather than as an attempt at efficient language teaching — although the programs are that too. One of the best indicators with which to evaluate bilingual education programs are the drop-out rates. The general drop-out rate for American Indians in Chicago is 95%; inthe city's bilingual-bicultural Little Big Horn High School, however, the drop-out rate this year was 11% (New York Times 1976:49), and that figure is a much more meaningful evaluation of the bilingual program than any psychometric assessment of the students' language skills.

As Swain points out in her fine paper "Evaluation of Bilingual Education Programs: Problems and Some Solutions" (1976:4) "the overriding problem of any psychometric study (is that) aspects of behavior which are non-quantifiable or difficult to quantify are not considered" and she suggests the need for additional data along the same line Spolsky discusses in A Model for the Description, Analysis and Perhaps Evaluation of Bilingual Education, one of the best approaches to the subject. Spolsky systematically demonstrates the

importance of the various factors involved along the linguistic, psychological, sociological, economic, political and religio-cultural parameters, all of which are necessary to consider in an evaluation of bilingual education programs. But Swain is also right in pointing out the value of the psychometric evaluation research which looks at the bilingual education programs as the independent variable (1976:1):

> It can provide essential feedback to the programs themselves often resulting in program change. Furthermore, such evaluations have provided individuals considering the implementation of a bilingual education program with information about the results of a variety of options, one of which may be applicable to their community given their own particular needs and characteristics. And finally, although a single evaluation carries little generalizability in and out of itself, "such case studies are necessary if we are to begin to develop a theory of bilingual education which will enable us to generalize the evidence from the individual studies and to account for their often contradictory findings." (Paulston 1975:5)

I have gone to such length in discussing the perspective which I hold to be necessary in interpreting the research on bilingual education programs in the United States because for both government officials and academics, it is important to understand that the answers to their questions do not necessarily lie in the assessment of children's language proficiency.

It is as yet an open question whether the answers to the questions about the linguistic aspects of emigrant children in Europe are to be found in a simple assessment of their language proficiency. It seems clear enough that without mother tongue development, many emigrant children will not learn the official language well. It is not yet clear whether such imperfect learning will contribute to instances of social injustice as has been the case in the United States, but the evidence is not encouraging. There is serious and widespread concern among researchers

that many emigrant children are not doing well in the schools. Skutnabb-Kangas' comment that semilingualism and consequent school failure is highly functional to the interests of the elites in providing cheap labor for tomorrow is illustrative of that concern. The language of emigrant children may seem to be a linguistic matter but it is clearly the result of socio-economic factors, and how this matter is dealt with becomes ultimately a moral question:

> The attraction (in economic terms) of the "center" countries for people of the "peripheral" countries resulted in the displacement of thousands of children, who are uprooted from their homes, left alone because of the double employment of the parents, condemned to loneliness at home, isolation at school and to serious handicaps in achieving an education adequate to fulfill their aspirations. The parents made their choice deliberately, the children were not asked. The Europe of tomorrow as well as the world at large will depend on the versatility of its enlarged community. This requires equal access to all education in both countries for the younger generation. The parents of today have heavily mortgaged the future of their children in their search for a livelihood in alien lands. Much depends on the willingness and ability of supranational and international organizations to assume their responsibilities and indicate the ways and means to free the coming generation from being solely the next generation of "marginal men and women" (Abadan-Unat 1975:320).

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